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British Settlements and Missionary Stations in Nyassa-land are underlined.

THE
TITLE-DEEDS
TO
NYASSA-LAND.

BY
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INTRODUCTION.

FROM some cause or other a very bright candle has become hidden under a very dense bushel. Its proper place is amongst the annals of British transactions in Africa—not a very satisfactory chapter it is true; then there is all the more reason that it should show its separate and individual brightness.

Either Germany, France, Italy, Belgium, or Portugal, would give a great deal just now to be able to tell as much as lies on any page of the following record, and yet British apathy has hitherto prevented a ray of the work treated upon from breaking forth.

The fact is that, unlike our Continental neighbours, who are excessively busy with Tropical Africa, we in England have been spoilt by a long series of those very explorations which in their case are for the most part beginning. Livingstone, Speke, Grant, Stanley, Cameron, Thomson and a host of others have over-stimulated the appetite; there is too much craving for dashing adventure and too little ability to assimilate plain plodding after-work, such as is set forth here.

“I have opened the door,” said Livingstone to the Cambridge Under-graduates, “I leave it to you to see that no one closes it after me.” Few are aware how that speech clung to the walls where it was uttered.

The following pages may spread its echoes wider, and they may perhaps indicate also a proper path amongst some intricate political surroundings. In any case, they will show that no Continent can be so utterly Dark when such a candle—albeit improperly covered up by indifference, is after all really burning brightly.

To draw up this historical sketch has been committed to me by the Church of Scotland, the Free Church of Scotland, and the Universities Mission to Central Africa, and also by the African Lakes Company (Limited), and Messrs. Buchanan and Co. of Mount Zomba.

Circumstances have made me a looker-on from the beginning, at times, more. Upon this vantage-ground I have ventured to store up facts, and I produce them now in the following shape for all concerned—these, by-the-by, are very many when the matter is looked into closely.

HORACE WALLER, F.R.G.S.

TWYWELL RECTORY, NEAR THRAPSTON,
January 21, 1887.



THE
TITLE-DEEDS TO NYASSA-LAND.

WHEN the history of the development of Tropical Africa comes to be written, it will be seen that deeds were more concerned with bringing about the change than words.

This seems a truism which one does not stake much upon, ^{Deeds.} and yet a necessity has arisen for calling attention to it.

The historian will say that it is somewhat singular to find in Gordon, who worked so hard for Africa to the north of the Equator, and in Livingstone, who gave such an impetus to exploration in the south, two of the most silent retiring men that ever troubled the hearts of scientific societies. To them, lecture platforms were impossibilities ; Africa will nevertheless tell of their deeds.

Now it is just because a most singular attempt is being made at the present moment to scheme out Africa's problem in a very different way that the necessity is forced upon us for speaking out, in order that a great deal of good work already done may not entirely be overlooked at a very critical time.

One can hardly take up a newspaper, much less a new map of Africa, without being astonished at the violence which is being offered to all preconceived notions of *meum* and *tuum* in discovery. There is a flourish of Continental trumpets in the air,—and, we may add, of Continental paint-brushes on the pages of the atlas, which is deafening and perplexing.

Lines, boundaries, and territories take shape almost with the Words. ·
rapidity of crystallization, and good Justus Perthes lays before

us weekly developments of the ardour for colonization which we might be led to think amusing but for the other and serious side of the matter.

Continental
activity in
Tropical
Africa.

Jealous
irritation.

What we do, however, complain of, is the infusion of bitterness which is now and again emptied out of the wrath-vial of one or other of the Continental States which is bent on founding Colonies in Tropical Africa. Take, for instance, the tone of the *Kreuz-Zeitung*, which points out the intense selfishness of England in asking for a finger's breadth of land between the Zanzibar Coast and the Victoria Nyanza, where Germany lays a broad hand on the map, and claims all beneath it.*

Or if we look to the next column of the same day's Continental news, we find all Lisbon, from King Luis down to one of His Majesty's midshipmen, encouraging Major Pinto to believe that handcuffs are some of the Evangelizing necessities of the missionaries in the Shiré highlands!

Time will do much for many of us. Germany, from force of circumstances, has to depend upon the experience of a very very few explorers, and alas, with a singular fatality we see even these few thinned down by death to one or two!

It is not an explorer's strongest time when he returns from Africa; newspapers are exacting: if the nation has not an opinion on the subject one must be formed, and so excitable statements creep in. Unlike ourselves, Germany has had no slavery-suppressing squadron cruising off and on the African coast for so many years and with an expenditure of millions; unlike ourselves, she has been deprived of that old standing naval school which has produced travellers such as Cameron—such workers as Young; unlike ourselves, she has no long list of costly experiments in life and treasure on lake and river to turn back to—no inland mission stations, in fact no history of deeds done; she promises to tell a different tale in the future.

Moçambique
Province.

With Portugal it is otherwise. Her convict settlements in the Moçambique province of East Africa have been a constant source of loss and irritation, not only to herself, but to all who have been called upon to pass into or through them. Aware

* See *Times*, Dec. 15, 1886.

—nay, unkindly reminded that she amongst the Powers is one with whom it might be loss of self-respect to quarrel seriously, she has more than compensated for such natural shortcomings by the enormity of her pretensions: these we repeat are such at the present moment, that further silence will only be misunderstood.

The moment has arrived when in the face of all this map-making, this “scramble for Africa,” Great Britain must have a word with her neighbours and place before them in black and white—not the intentions of a rosy-coloured future, *but the tale of a hard determined campaign against the barbarism of Africa, dating back twenty-eight years already.* Great Britain’s “say.”

We wish then to gather into a few pages an account of the exertions, missionary and commercial, which have followed as a direct result of Dr. Livingstone’s explorations. As for the field of these operations, we beg attention to that portion of the map which lies between the mouth of the Zambesi river and the south end of Lake Tanganyika, say roughly, between Long. 33° and 37° E. and Lat. 8° and 19° S. The eye will thus trace the water-way of East Africa, passing from the ocean up the Zambesi river, thence by the Shiré river to Lake Nyassa, and so across the isthmus which divides the Lake from the Northern Sea of Tanganyika. For Easting and Westing we need not go far: the work is of an amphibious kind, now dependent on steamers afloat, now gasping in fresh air on the adjacent highlands. Once, and once only, we shall ask for a wider departure from the Lake shore, that is when we come to treat of the Universities Mission occupied with the tribes along the Rovuma river, which reaches the Moçambique channel about 11° S. Lat. Position of Nyassa-land.

In point of time we may remind ourselves that Dr. Livingstone finished his first series of travels in 1856. The enthusiasm caused by his discoveries was not to be denied. As he laid it before his readers he closed the record of his single-handed exploration thus:— Livingstone in 1856.

“Viewing the success awarded to the opening up of the New country as a development of Divine Providence in relation to the African family, the mind naturally turns to the probable

influence it may have on Negro slavery. . . . The establishment of the necessary agency must be a work of time, and greater difficulty will be experienced on the eastern than on the western side of the Continent, because in the one region we have a people who know none but slave-dealers, while on the other we have tribes who have felt the influence of the coast missionaries and of the Great Niger Expedition. . . . But on the east there is a river which may become a good pathway to a central population who are friendly to the English; and if we can conciliate the less amicable people on the river, and introduce commerce, an effectual blow will be struck at the slave trade in that quarter. By linking the Africans there to ourselves in the manner proposed, it is hoped that their elevation will eventually be the result.” *

It seems an old tale to us, though so new in Germany and Lisbon—the rapt attention to the simple narrative of the traveller—the enthusiasm of a nation and the readiness to follow up the national impulse: Livingstone had the fullest proof that he had not appealed to inattentive countrymen.

ZAMBESI EXPEDITION.

1858.

In March, 1858, that is, twenty-eight years ago, Her Majesty’s Government placed a well-equipped expedition at Livingstone’s disposal, in order that he might continue his work.

Let us quote his words concerning it:—

Government
Expedition.

“The main object of the Zambesi expedition, as our instructions from Her Majesty’s Government explicitly stated, was to extend the knowledge already attained of the geography and mineral and agricultural resources of Eastern and Central Africa—to improve our acquaintance with the inhabitants, and to endeavour to engage them to apply themselves to industrial pursuits and to the cultivation of their lands, with a view to the production of raw material to be exported to England in return for British manufactures; and it was hoped that, by encouraging the natives to occupy themselves in the develop-

* ‘Livingstone’s Missionary Travels in South Africa,’ pp. 679–80.

ment of the resources of the country, a considerable advance might be made towards the extinction of the slave trade, as they would not be long in discovering that the former would eventually be a more certain source of profit than the latter. The expedition was sent in accordance with the settled policy of the English Government; and the Earl of Clarendon being then at the head of the Foreign Office, the mission was organized under his immediate care. When a change of government ensued, we experienced the same generous countenance and sympathy from the Earl of Malmesbury as we had previously received from Lord Clarendon; and, on the accession of Earl Russell to the high office he has so long filled, we were always favoured with equally ready attention and the same prompt assistance. Thus the conviction was produced that our work embodied the principles not of any one party, but of the hearts of the statesmen and people of England generally.

“Though collections were made, it was always distinctly Objects. understood that however desirable these and our explorations might be, Her Majesty’s Government attached more importance to the moral influence that might be exerted on the minds of the natives by a well regulated and orderly household of Europeans, setting an example of consistent moral conduct to all who might witness it, treating the people with kindness, and relieving their wants, teaching them to make experiments in agriculture, explaining to them the more simple arts, imparting to them religious instruction, as far as they are capable of receiving it, and inculcating peace and goodwill to each other.” *

If on the one hand Her Majesty’s Government thus brushed England and Portugal. „ to a side the pretensions of Portugal to claim all that tract of Africa which lies behind the limits of her Eastern seaboard—Cape Delgado and Delagoa Bay even across Africa to the sea on the West Coast, the Church of England was hardly likely to remain unmoved when Livingstone turned to her. Men who remember it speak to this day of the scene in the Senate-house at Cambridge when his appeal was made.

* ‘The Zambesi and its Tributaries,’ p. 9.

Universities
Mission, 1860.

The Universities Mission to Central Africa was the immediate result. Bishop Mackenzie went to the high ground above the Shiré river in 1860, taking with him a staff of clergy, artizans, and agriculturists, so as to act up to a plan which had been sketched out by Livingstone, and which embraced the attempt to civilize as well as Christianize the tribes.

But we must revert to the Zambesi expedition first. The deeds done were worthy of the effort made by England.

The Zambesi's capacities for navigation, as well as its impossibilities, were scientifically probed. A new and direct communication between the sea and the river was discovered by Dr. Livingstone, and for the first time a steam-vessel passed through the Zambesi delta. The river Shiré was unknown to the Portuguese, except in its lower reaches and near to the Zambesi, but Dr. Livingstone, with his brother, and the present Sir John Kirk, G.C.M.G., traced it to the cataracts at Ma Titti, and then proceeding on foot, after many adventures, brought to light Lake Shirwa. This was not all, for they next discovered the magnificent inland sea called Lake Nyassa, and proved that it emptied its waters into the Shiré river.

That the six years spent in the rivers of East Africa were amongst the most trying of Livingstone's life, no one can doubt who witnessed the desperate attempts which he and those with him made to carry out the objects of the expedition. Several of his men died of tropical fever; others were invalided home; and, greatest loss of all, his wife succumbed to the climate, having joined him but three weeks previously.

It would be folly to pretend that the Portuguese and Livingstone got on well together, for the latter exposed not only their utter ignorance of the country, but the decimating system of slave-trade and kidnapping which was pursued under their auspices.

He took the servant of the Governor of Tette red-handed at the head of a large slave gang; he tracked the strings of captives not only to the sea where they were exported, but to the very innermost recesses of Africa also, whither many were traded away to distant tribes for ivory; and what is much to the

Deeds done
by Govern-
ment Expedi-
tion.

Portuguese
Slave trade.

point, he succeeded in establishing in the comprehension of the natives the fact that there were not only white men who bought and sold their wives and children, but that there were others of a totally different nature. When we read that the Portuguese are now about to try and invade the land of this new comprehension by military expeditions, we are interested to see how they will yet lay their account with the detestation which forthwith took possession of the native mind regarding them.

It goes without saying that the members of the expedition acted up to their high scientific reputations. Not only were positions laid down, but the Lake region of Central Africa in all its most interesting features was delineated, whether by the geographer, the zoologist, the geologist, or the botanist. The sum spent by Her Majesty's Government was a very large one, but work was never done more thoroughly; and we can easily understand that the object of such exertions was not merely to spend the English tax-payers' money or to portray the beauties of the country for the group of expatriated Portuguese, who hung about the settlement of Quillimane. Yet there have been many moments since that day when it has appeared as if there would be nothing else to show! Without getting at the exact figures, we have it on good authority that the Zambesi expedition cost some £30,000 from first to last, exclusive of the outlay in building the steamship "Pioneer," which was borne on the Admiralty books. Dr. Livingstone employed a small steamer during part of this period named the "Ma Robert," which foundered in the Zambesi, and the "Lady Nyassa," costing about £3000, was fitted out entirely at his own expense; but we shall speak of her again presently.

Cost of Zambesi Expedition.

Such a venture in lives and money ought to be kept in remembrance.

THE UNIVERSITIES MISSION.

Having thus briefly touched upon the Zambesi expedition, which carried the British flag into these waters from 1859 to 1864, we will proceed to consider the early days of the Universities Mission to Central Africa, because as an enterprise it comes next in order of events.

Slave pre-
serves.

We repeat that it was intended to act entirely as an adjunct to Livingstone's work. The slave-hunting preserves of East Africa were assigned to it as a sphere, and the Church seemed to have put her finger on the very blackest spot amongst the desolate places of the earth when she conceived the necessity for sending a mission there. We know that the idea met with immense favour at both Oxford and Cambridge. Bishop Wilberforce threw his whole strength into the movement, and money was speedily raised. Truth to tell, the men were not so quickly recruited. However, a very efficient start was made, and few corners were left in England and Scotland in which Bishop Mackenzie had not made an appeal for a helping hand.

Consul
Livingstone
meets Bishop
Mackenzie.

Great was Livingstone's chagrin to find that between his leaving the country to visit England and his return at the head of the Zambesi expedition, the Portuguese slave-dealers of Tette had been busy. He had previously selected a spot with many natural advantages, and hither he brought Bishop Mackenzie in August 1861. The whole country had changed for the worse. They met gang after gang of unfortunate slaves being led away to the Portuguese settlements. Villages were burning in all directions. The land was left uncultivated, famine naturally followed, and the disaster was accompanied by a total failure of rain. Three-fourths of the hill population went down under this dreadful infliction, and the ranks of the new comers were thinned in the same proportion. Bishop Mackenzie, the Rev. H. Scudamore, the Rev. H. de W. Burrup, and Dr. Dickinson died, and other members of the mission party were invalidated.

But during this harassing period, and in spite of every disadvantage, the mission station—whether at Magomero or Chibisa's, was a place of refuge for all comers. Numbers of slaves were released by the hands of Livingstone, and the members of the mission staff acting in concert with him. A community of several hundreds of these poor creatures lived in safety with Bishop Mackenzie, and at last gathered strength to form themselves into a little Colony on the Shiré.

The Makololo.

Livingstone's old servants, the Makololo, had already found that the training which they had undergone far away in their

own land fitted them to be rulers whenever they chose; these settled down also on the Shiré, and the combination has solidified into a power of first magnitude as African Powers go. Thousands of the distracted hill-men have become their subjects. Peace and quietness has prevailed during twenty-two years, and, if the Makololo men and their people come to try conclusions with the Portuguese, any one who has watched events since 1860 can pretty well forecast the inevitable result: it is a tradition, a creed, a determination amongst these men that the Portuguese shall never advance up the Shiré.

For Livingstone a sudden determination of our Government was more than mortifying. So satisfied was he that the great water-way into East Africa was capable of better things than the slave-trade, that he had previously prepared to follow up the results of the expedition, when its term of service would naturally come to an end. For this purpose he caused a steamer to be constructed at his own cost in Glasgow. She was to navigate Lake Nyassa, and for convenience was taken to Africa in sections with a view to transference across the unnavigable portion of the Shiré. Partly from the recall of the expedition, and also from the weight and size of the compartments of the "Lady Nyassa," the object had to be abandoned. Livingstone had come very near to the bottom of his private resources in this venture, but he had the vexation of selling his ship for what she would fetch at Bombay. Thenceforth, though continuing to be the traveller and explorer in the same regions, his expenditure was necessarily limited to pence, where pounds fortified the steps and adventures of that younger and more fortunate school of explorers whom he had called into existence!

Expedition
withdrawn.

It was then in 1864 that Livingstone broke up his expedition in obedience to orders received from the Foreign Office. Hastily making a long journey on foot to the westward of Lake Nyassa (before the river Shiré rose sufficiently to enable his vessel to reach the sea), he learnt from the natives that a large lake, hitherto unheard of, lay about ten days off. Not, however, till 1866, when he left England for the last time, did he set himself to discover Lake Bangweolo.

It was also in the beginning of 1864 that Bishop Tozer, who had succeeded Mackenzie, determined to withdraw the mission to Zanzibar. It was not forgotten that its title accredited it to the "tribes bordering on Lake Nyassa and the river Shiré," but so great had been the stress put upon the staff, so seriously was the country disturbed, and, moreover, the withdrawal of the Zambesi expedition was such an unlooked-for blow, that the arrangement was considered prudent—*reculer pour mieux sauter*. Time could be well employed at Zanzibar: the languages spoken by the Nyassa tribes had to be reduced, the Bible translated, released slaves should be taught, others would become mechanics, and so forth—this was the Zanzibar programme for the interval, and admirably and energetically was it carried out, more particularly by Bishop Steere.

Mission also
withdrawn.

We have a break here of two years, during which Nyassaland was not visited by any European.

Livingstone
returns, 1866.

Livingstone came to England, and as soon as he had published an account of his work in 'The Zambesi and its Tributaries,' he sailed for Africa. Once more we find him British Consul commissioned to the tribes and chiefs of the interior. The task he had set himself was to trace the waters of the Nile from a point much further south than any yet contemplated. Livingstone struck for Lake Nyassa once more in 1866, crossed the Rovuma, visited the powerful chiefs M'tarika and Mataka, traced the Lujenda river for some distance, and hit the Lake at Chitesi's village. Unable to reach the other side, he passed to the south of Nyassa, crossed the Shiré near the point where it emerges from the Lake, and then, making a journey nearly due north, he reached the southern extremity of Lake Tanganyika. It will take us too far afield if we yield to the temptation, and track his steps hither and thither during those adventurous years, and far away from his old haunts—now of opinion that he is on the banks of the Congo, and again as often believing that these southern waters must feed the Nile. It was reserved for Mr. Stanley finally to confirm the first impression after his celebrated relief of the now failing traveller. Livingstone ultimately died at Ilala, some few days' journey from Lake Nyassa.

But we must go back to the point where we see him standing northward with his frightened following of Indians and Johannamen in 1866, after rounding Lake Nyassa. It was at some spot (not easy to find accurately) that wholesale desertion took place. Moosa, a Johannaman, together with his comrades, deserted him in terror of the Angoni, and made his way back to Zanzibar, with a false tale of murder and disaster. Reported murder.

It will not do to pass over the clever and excellent piece of work done by Livingstone's old lieutenant, Mr. E. D. Young, R.N., with only a word of commendation.

An expedition was fitted out by Her Majesty's Government, Inquiry. which had for its object the clearing up of Moosa's story, and right well and swiftly was it done from first to last.

Once more then we see Mr. Young wending his way up the Zambesi and Shiré in the summer of 1867. Profiting by Mr. Young, R.N., 1867. previous errors, he now had with him a boat composed of a number of sheets of "mild" steel—the first of its kind. His reception by the Makololo and riverine tribes was enthusiastic beyond description. The cry that the English had come again rang through the land. People flocked to the Shiré's bank in thousands, and to make a long story—which is told in 'The Search for Livingstone'—a short one, the large boat was taken to pieces, carried on the heads of willing men for seventy miles, reconstructed, and launched on the higher waters without the loss of a screw or a nut!

The point we wish to make is this :—the absence of those who formerly led the Makololo (as Livingstone had for thousands of miles), and the want of men to take a beneficent interest in their lives, had told its own tale and created a want; perhaps in no part of the world was the reappearance of the Union Jack ever more vehemently cheered. Mr. Young found the graves of his former friends and associates religiously kept decent and clear of weeds, and everywhere there was a beseeching outcry for the permanent residence of the "Ingrési" (English) amongst their "children." Native demonstration.

Mr. Young brought back to England evidence to show the utter falsity of the Johannamen's story. Letters from Livingstone himself—written far ahead of the scene of his reported

Livingstone's
lament.

murder, followed quickly after. The most notable thing under his hand was a heart-broken expression of his sorrow that Nyassa-land must be left as it was before he ever knew of the people's wrongs and described them to us.

No wonder if such words rankled in the hearts of some!

FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

And so we come to the second great chapter of Shiré history—the interlude of Mr. Young's praiseworthy adventure breaking up the otherwise blank pages between 1864 and 1875.

Rev. Dr.
James
Stewart.

Whilst the Universities Mission party was established at Chibisa's on the river Shiré, in 1862-4, the Rev. James Stewart came to reside there for some months as a commissioner from the Free Church of Scotland. His object in visiting Africa was to examine the country first with a view to missionary work, and no one could possibly have carried out this measure of precaution with greater shrewdness or wisdom.

The state of the whole country was such at the time, that one cannot wonder if his advice was to await a turn in the tide of events.

Meanwhile Mr. Stewart had laid his plans for the future. So impressed was he personally with the necessity for a missionary arming himself with something over and beyond mere linguistic dexterity, that he entered the schools of medicine in Edinburgh, and took his M.D. degree after the usual five years' course of hospital-study.

Renewed
Mission work,
1874.

We have now in 1874 a scheme fathered by Dr. James Stewart to renew missionary work on the Shiré and Lake Nyassa.

He himself had meanwhile become the head of the great Missionary College of Lovedale in South Africa, and it was seen that too much depended upon him to render it likely that he could personally develop work so far off.

But he had the ear of all in Scotland when he besought them earnestly, and by his own intimate personal acquaintance with Livingstone and his aspirations, to raise up to him a worthy memorial.

The tragic death, the wonderful perseverance of his followers and the arrival of Livingstone's body in England had touched every one deeply; but there existed the fact that, as if by prophetic coincidence the great missionary traveller's *heart* remained behind, *buried separately*, between the Lakes Nyassa and Bangweolo.

Facts, and not sentiment, must be our stand-by in these pages; we may be excused, however, if we crave a licence here for a pause, in what may after all savour too much of wearisome epitome.

In England's earlier days, when men did more perhaps according to their lights and means than they do now for their Faith, the Crusaders fell like leaves, both by sword and disease, far away from their homes. But homes they had still, and it was the duty of followers and friends to convey away the hearts of the fallen, and to enshrine them in the walls and pillars of the churches in which they had first known that Faith in which they died. These "heart-burials" are amongst the most interesting of our national reminders.

An African
"heart-
burial."

Livingstone, too, had his home, but it was now the land of which we treat, the land which gathered in his wife to her rest.

"This is the sort of grave I should prefer," he said, as in depths of the African forest he came across a little rounded mound, "to lie in the still still forest . . . but I have nothing to do but wait till He who is over all decides where I have to lay me down and die; poor Mary lies on Shupanga brae."*

Respecting this mound he says in his Journals that a path led to it, and there was evidence that, now and again, feet stole along it to come and lay offerings on the grave.

Somewhere at Ilala there is a "little rounded mound" like this. The afflicted men raised it over the heart of their master when they embalmed his body as best they could for their long journey to the coast; still entombed in the very heart of Africa is the heart of David Livingstone.

Dr. Stewart and those who thought with him felt it was high time that some footsteps should be bent towards it; they

* 'Livingstone's Last Journals,' vol. i. pp. 307-8.

all knew what gifts and tokens of affection best befitted the occasion, for in his life he loved nothing so much as to see the attempt made to raise up reverence for Christ's name in the land of his adoption.

Thus the movement sprung into life.

United Scotch
Churches.

But here we will quote from the pages of Mr. Young's narrative entitled 'The Mission to Nyassa' (p. 10).* "Let it ever be stated to their credit that no sooner had the form been determined on which the effort should take, than the Reformed Presbyterian, the Established, and the United Presbyterian Churches of Scotland desired to join hands with the Free Church in accomplishing it; and the suggestion made in such good fellowship was heartily reciprocated."

Here then we see Mr. E. D. Young for the third time on his way to the Zambesi, leading a body of missionaries to represent the above Churches: associated with them were several laymen and artizans. They sailed on the 21st May, 1875, and took with them one of the first of Mr. Yarrow's steamers, constructed of steel and in easily borne sections; the "Ilala" is still plying busily on Lake Nyassa.

Space will not allow of our fully expanding the most interesting history of the Scotch missions on the Shire Highlands and the Lake.

Native en-
thusiasm,
1875.

Again the natives received Mr. Young with the utmost enthusiasm, and readily enabled him to convey the steamer piece by piece to her destination. It is worth while, however, transcribing a paragraph or two from Mr. Young's tale.

"On the 12th Sept. we had the satisfaction of making a start by dispatching 250 men with their loads, and on the 13th, fifty more. Here we came to a standstill for want of hands, and as two more days passed without any desired result in answer to messages and all sorts of appeals to the Makololo, I went down in one of the boats to Chibisa's village on the 16th. The heat now became most oppressive, close on 100° in the shade, a temperature almost intolerable where there is much evaporation going on. The engineers and carpenters found it very trying

* Published by John Murray, 1877.

on their march to the head of the cataracts, whither we thought it best for them to start, in order that they might make preparations for the reconstruction of the steamer. Returning to head-quarters, I was consoled, after the tedious delay, by seeing three stalwart Makololo march in with 300 men. When I state that some of these had come distances of forty miles to undertake this service, bringing their food with them, it will give some idea of the belief that the English are worth working for. My comrades little knew what a long chapter of suspicions, mistrust, timidity, and other impediments, had been cleared away for them years before their advent, or of the weary weary waitings and cajolings it used to take in the early days to get half-a-dozen men together to carry a few burdens! I could write a chapter on this gradual growth of trust, and the way in which it has fructified a hundredfold since the days of Livingstone, and the "Pioneer," and Mackenzie and his men; but I am sure the trust system will still be more acceptable to my readers even here, and we shall the quicker get over the falls if we take it for granted. Lasting effects.

"At dawn on the 19th we were ready to start, thus bringing up the rear with 100 porters and such goods as we more especially wished to retain till the last. Before leaving, I paid a visit to the grave of my old friend, Mr. Thornton, and saw that here, as in other cases, the emblem of that faith in which he lived and died was in its proper place to tell its own tale to the natives when the time comes for them to understand its meaning more fully. Before we began our march, I passed the word to the enormous crowd that was assembled to keep silence, whilst through an interpreter I spoke a few words to them. Uncovering our heads, I explained to them, that hitherto all had gone well with us ever since we left our country to come among them, and that we were about to return our thanks to the Great God, who had thus vouchsafed His blessing to our undertaking: I said that it was for their good we came, and for their good we hoped to be established among them to teach them concerning God, and to show them the advantages of peace and industry, whilst banishing the slave-trade which had so long oppressed them. I finished by asking them to remain

perfectly still whilst we besought our God to prosper us in that which had yet to be done, because it was full of trials and immense difficulties.

"Our prayer finished, we began our march. Eight hundred of these men worked and worked desperately for us, free as air to come or go as they pleased, over a road which furnished at almost every yard an excuse for an accident or a hiding-place for thief or deserter; but yet at the end of sixty miles we had everything delivered up to us unmolested, untampered with, and unhurt, and every man merry and content with his well-earned wages." *

Where—we would ask, can such a story be told, or such results shown? Here we have the direct outcome of the "Pioneer's" days, and of the period when the Universities Mission stood at the outpost of the poor Manganja tribe.

The real
Question.

Is it possible that these things are to be trampled out of remembrance in this "scramble for Africa?" Is the slate to be washed so that "Congo Treaties," "Delimitation Commissions," "Zones," and "Protectorates" may be scribbled over it by very schoolboy hands; and is not Great Britain entitled to put in a reminder here, when we think of the veteran explorers we have mentioned?

We are even now but half-way through the deeds which should emphasize that reminder.

Let us take up the thread of the record. Was this united movement of the Scotch Churches justified or not? For our purpose we will sever the Churches for a moment, and beginning with the Free Church of Scotland, hear what it has done since the "Ilala" was launched on Nyassa.

Fresh ex-
plorations,
1875-8.

In December 1875, under Mr. E. D. Young, the first voyage round Nyassa showed that instead of being 150 miles, as was supposed, it is really 350 miles long, and varies in breadth from 16 to 60 miles. In 1877, besides previous shorter voyages, the Lake was again circumnavigated, and a journey along part of its western shore was made by Dr. Stewart and Dr. Laws. In 1878 a journey of more than 700 miles was

* 'Mission to Nyassa,' pp. 52-5.

carried out by Dr. Laws and Mr. J. Stewart, C.E., along the southern and western sides of the Lake and the hill country beyond. In 1879 Mr. John Moir travelled westward to the country of Kambombo, and then accompanied Mr. J. Stewart while completing his examination of the western side of the Lake. Subsequently Mr. J. Stewart crossed from the north end of Nyassa to the south end of Tanganyika, arriving there the day after Mr. Joseph Thomson of the Royal Geographical Society. In 1882 Mr. J. Stewart completed his survey of Lake Nyassa, which was published in the Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society for December 1883, as papers and maps by himself and other members of the staff had been in 1879 and 1880. These explorations have shown the existence of iron mines in several places, of coal at three places, of the reported existence of copper at another; and that round the Lake, and in the territory lying immediately to the west, we have at least fifteen different tribes speaking as many different languages, besides dialects of these languages; that instead of being a desert country inhabited only by wild beasts, as all Central Africa was not long ago supposed to be, on the shores of Nyassa we have many villages or towns with inhabitants varying from 200 to 10,000 in number, while in the pastoral districts in the highlands to the west, the population is much denser than it is in many of the corresponding districts of South Africa.

So far the land was indeed searched out by worthy spies.

Before we consider the actual work of Evangelizing the natives by word of mouth, let us see what this mission has done by way of practising what is preached concerning "good-will towards men." We still refer to its published records.

The Medical Department of the Mission was one of the first to enable the people, by its care for the sick and suffering, to comprehend the nature and effects of Christian teaching. The effects of chloroform on patients undergoing operations were to them especially marvellous, and many have come more than fifty miles to be treated or to have operations performed. The increasing confidence of the natives in the medical missionary is shown by the fact that in 1882 there were 3300 attendances

Medical Mission work.

10,000 medical
attendances
in 1884.

registered at Bandawè; in 1883 the numbers rose to about 7000; while in 1884 they exceeded 10,000. The marauding Angoni, who often haughtily disdain to listen to the Gospel message or obey its command, can respect and trust as a friend the medical missionary; and hence a doctor has been appointed to each of the Angoni districts.

Schools.

Schools have been gathering-places of native children, both at the first settlement, at Livingstonia, at Bandawè, and amongst the ever-fighting Angoni people: a prodigious number of scholars have passed in and out.

Translations.

Details of thirteen publications in the native tongues lie before us, including translations of the Gospels, hymns, dictionaries, and primers.

Slavers' price-
current.

For whom are such exertions made? We hear of the dark corners of the earth, of "people scattered and peeled," and so forth—let us glance down the price-current of slaves on Lake Nyassa in 1880, and it may serve to impress on our minds that Livingstone was not unreasonable when he implored us to interest ourselves in this unfortunate land. We will say that a yard of calico is worth 4*d.* in England, we see then the value of:—

A strong young man is	.	.	.	40 yards of calico.
A young unmarried school girl	.	.	.	56 " "
A young mother	.	.	.	36 " "
and for her child with her, extra	.	.	.	4 " "
An elderly man or woman	.	.	.	4 " "
A toothless old man	.	.	.	2 " "

Since these prices were quoted last year we regret to say that the slave-trade has increased enormously, owing to a perplexing state of things, which makes it the opportunity of every scoundrel along the sea-board to imbrue his hands in it. Be it remembered that all these deeds are *done in behind the Portuguese sea-board*, where, till within the last eighteen months, no Portuguese had ever ventured to set a foot—and then only in the person of a single individual traveller: we allude to Senhor Cardoso, of whom we shall make further mention.

In twelve years the Free Church has expended £45,000, and

her annual expenses come now to £4000. She has at present Free Church outlay in money.
on the Nyassa staff:—

- | | |
|--|---------|
| 1 Ordained missionary. | |
| 3 Ordained medical men (1 more is about to join them). | In men. |
| 1 Medical man. | |
| 3 Married ladies (3 more are to join them). | |
| 2 Evangelists—Africans. | |
| 4 Local catechists—Africans. | |
| 4 Scottish teachers. | |
| 2 Scottish artisans— Evangelists. | |

20

During the twelve years of the mission's career ten members Deaths.
of the staff have died. Scotland has sent thither in that time
to this particular mission forty-three representatives, of whom
five are ladies, and Africa has supplied five from her own tribes.

In passing, we mention that Her British Majesty's Govern- Consul Elton reports, 1877.
ment granted leave to Captain Elton, our Consul at Moçambique,
to visit Nyassa-land in 1877 "for the purpose of exploring
and reporting upon that centre of modern slaving operations."
He was much assisted in these investigations by Dr. James
Stewart, who at that time was on an official visit to the Lake,
and took him to various points of importance in the "Ilala."
Nor must we forget to mention another most important work
done by this truly great missionary, Dr. Stewart. Ascertaining
that during all their predatory wanderings, and in spite of
drafting into their horde young men and boys from a dozen
different tribes, the Angoni have kept up the Kafir tongue—
the language of their fathers—he laid his plans accordingly.
Dr. Stewart has trained young men in his College at Lovedale Kafir Missionaries.
from amongst the neighbouring Kafirs, and some of these have
done the finest missionary work on the hills to the west of the
Lake that it is possible to point to. Some day we may have
the record of William Koyi's single-minded and devoted life
written for us. Few more noble fellows have lived and died
at their posts, content to do honestly and thoroughly the work
given him to do and to leave the rest to God. Such is the
impression of one who never read a letter of his without being
humbled in the presence of his worth.

THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

The Church of Scotland stopped short of the Lake, and began operations in 1875 at a very healthy spot on the Shiré hills, say half-way between the two former stations of the Universities Mission, Chibisa's and Magomero.

Blantyre
founded, 1876.

Mr. Henry Henderson acted as pioneer, and his previous experience in the tropics gave him an eye for healthy sites which was very valuable. Blantyre was founded as an Industrial and Evangelical Mission in October, 1876, with a medical missionary and five artisans. A clergyman and an extra gardener arrived in 1878.

Some of the lads brought up by the missionaries at these spots were available as interpreters and servants; a great many of the liberated slaves of former days were now living with the local chief, so all linked in well, and Blantyre rapidly grew in importance. It had its ups and downs at first, amongst which some mismanagement took an unhappy and prominent part. But when great decision and quick action were required to right matters, they were at once available, and ever since, and never more than now, the Church of Scotland may be proud of its African work. The Makololo territory "marches" with their settlement and the children of the chiefs are educated by the Rev. D. C. Scott and his colleagues. Overlooking the key position to the whole of this part of Africa, no station can possibly be more important than Blantyre.

The Shiré
"portage"
road.

The road from the lower to the upper navigation of the Shiré passes through Blantyre, and all who wish to reach the Lake must go that way. It extends for 60 miles, that is from Matunga's on the Lower Shiré to Matopé on the Upper; the cost was borne equally by the Church of Scotland and the Livingstonia Mission.

Raid averted.

As a civilizing agency, Blantyre has done great things, and the mission's influence extends as far as Chikusi's town in the Angoni land to the south-east of the Lake. Mr. Scott on one occasion visited the chief when a blood-thirsty raid was contemplated, and by his daring visit—in which Mrs. Scott accom-

panied him—the danger was averted. We mention such details, because in this way alone is it possible to delineate the widespread influence for good which the natives identify with the British missions.

Over £30,000 has been expended at Blantyre. To give some idea of its present capabilities, we may say there are:—

Church of
Scotland out-
lay in money.

- 1 Church.
- 4 Brick houses.
- 1 School house—brick.

The ground has been largely cultivated, and coffee plantations, tea in small quantities, most of the ordinary tropical fruits, including grapes, peaches, and oranges, abound. Wheat thrives, and native produce of all kinds is reared. At Blantyre there are in residence:—

The ordained minister in charge.

In men.

1 Medical man.

1 Certificated teacher.

1 Carpenter.

1 Gardener.

1 General agent.

1 Lady teacher.

8 Native teachers; whilst others have constant work—carpentering, printing, and gardening.

There are seventy-five scholars boarding at the Blantyre school, of whom twenty-five are the sons of chiefs. Sub-stations are flourishing at Mount Zomba, where there is an ordained missionary, but we shall have more to say about Zomba presently. At N'dirandi there is a school of one hundred learners, who are taught by two native teachers under the supervision of the Blantyre staff.

Schools,
Stations.

The method of governing and the recourse to native councils forms a very interesting item, but time will not permit of our enlarging upon it.

The muster-roll of Europeans throughout shows twenty-Europeans; of these two have died, one of them a lady, Mrs. Duncan, whose hospitality and diligence in training native girls are greatly missed.

Muster-roll.
Deaths.

Return of
Universities
Mission.

Still continuing our story of missionary work, and leaving commercial industry in the Lake district till the last, we conclude with a notice of the renewed occupation of a portion of the Universities Mission's original diocese by Bishop Smythies and his staff.

Steadily working from Zanzibar to one point, a group of mission stations has for the last ten years been extending from Lindy, on the coast in the neighbourhood of the Rovuma river, whilst flying visits have from time to time been made to M'tarika's and Mataka's towns, and so on to the Lake itself.

From the schools and workshops at Zanzibar these stations receive not only artificers, but members consecrated to the high offices of the Ministry. It must be kept in mind that nine-tenths of the slaves which are saved from the "Dhows" by our cruisers are drawn from the tribes around Lake Nyassa, that is to say, from the Manganja, Yao and Makuas, so that the establishments at Zanzibar are always working to an end, and that end the regeneration of the Lake people.

Looked at in its entirety, it is an enormous undertaking, and one which has a greater hold on the sympathies of the Universities than any which could be named perhaps of a similar character. Very recently, and at great cost, a steam-vessel, built by Mr. Yarrow, has been added to the equipment for carrying on mission work upon Lake Nyassa. The "Charles Janson" has her head-quarters at the island of Likomo, about half-way up the east side of the Lake, where a strong mission station is being formed. There is a large and scattered population along the shore, and some interesting settlements of "Lake dwellings." As in troublous times of old, when the Scotch, the Swiss and other war-harassed folk built huts on long piles driven into the bottom of the lakes, so to-day we see the same precautions against attack in use. Amongst these people the work of the missionaries lies. It may be remembered that a powerful race, of Kafir descent also, called the Makwangwara, from time to time carry raids and slaughter all through the land, and even down to the coast. Masasi, a Universities Mission station, was subjected to one of these incursions some years ago.

Nyassa-land
slave-trade.

The "Charles
Janson."

The Makwan-
gwara.

The Rev. W. Porter visited them in order to redeem captive converts on one occasion; and on two others, long journeys to their strongholds have been made at great risk by the Rev. W. P. Johnson and by Bishop Smythies.

The Makwangwara are a particularly blood-thirsty and ferocious set, and it is the opinion of those upon the spot that, if they can be influenced in any way for good, the thousands of villages in the Yao and Makua country which are harried by them, may be relieved from the awful visitations which are continually falling upon them.

Indications are not wanting to show that it is not too much to hope that this will yet be accomplished. The Rev. G. H. Swinny and his wife have gone to take up their quarters at the town of the principal chief, and as they are both conversant with the Kafir language which is spoken there, the greatest interest follows them. There seems to be even a more powerful devastating tribe further to the north; at all events the Makwangwara profess to dread the Machingas. Mr. Johnson has ventured to pass into Machinga territory, but his visit to them can hardly be followed up just yet.

The story of the Universities Mission is one of twenty-six years' continuous action of the most vigorous and daring kind. Confining our remarks to what may be called the work amongst the "tribes bordering on Lake Nyassa and the river Shiré," we have an expenditure on—

	£
The Shiré and Nyassa region in 1860-64 . . .	22,000
" " " 1880-83 . . .	1,000
" " " 1884-86 . . .	8,000
The Rovuma district between Coast and Lake in 1875-85	12,000
	<hr/>
	£43,000

Universities' outlay in and near Nyassa-land.

Of the seventy-four members of the staff of the Universities Mission, there are employed in these districts thirteen ordained clergy and one lady (Mrs. Swinny), and four laymen. In men.

The death-roll from first to last has been a heavy one; but we must reflect that the beginning of things and the brunt of inexperience fell on Bishop Mackenzie's party in 1860-64. One of the greatest gratifications that ever fell Deaths.

to the Universities Mission was the ability to afford the advice begotten of sad experience to after-comers, and to issue warnings where they would be of greatest use. Right heartily has such converse been reciprocated, and the members of all the missions in this part of Africa freely and entirely enjoy that good fellowship, which is not only such a mutual strength to one another, but affords such an inestimably bright vision of true Christianity to the various tribes.

THE AFRICAN LAKES COMPANY (LIMITED).

We have thus touched upon the various lines of missionary enterprise, separating them up under their three geographical headings.

It is now necessary to turn to the other hand, and speak of commercial industry. Material is before us for the following statement:—

The African Lakes Company (Limited) was constituted in 1878, not as a mere trading venture, but with the object of assisting missions in these regions, of developing resources of these districts, and of introducing legitimate commerce as the surest and safest cure for the slave-trade. Beginning very cautiously, and with little capital, it has kept up communications between the coast and Lake Nyassa; it has gradually extended its operations, till now, urged thereto by the British consuls interested in these regions and by the four missionary societies for which the Company carries supplies, it has built a new stern-wheel steamer for the Zambesi and Shiré rivers, able to carry more than four times the present requirements.* These, however, are steadily increasing, and, an unofficial understanding having been arrived at with most of these missions that the Company shall remain their carriers as heretofore, it was only reasonable the requirements of the future should be fully taken into account.

The Company has three steamers, a staff of 25 Europeans,

* This fine vessel is named after Mr. "James Stevenson" of Glasgow, in view of the invaluable aid he lent in starting this Company.

Launched,
1878.

Its objects.

Its machinery
and staff.

and 12 trading stations. Seven of these are in the Zambesi and Shiré districts, and in connection with these their new stern-wheeler will work, assisted probably by the present "Lady Nyassa" (s.) on the Kwakwa. One station is on the Stewart Road, connecting this Lower River system with the steam navigation on the Upper Shiré river and Lake Nyassa, and four are on the latter water-way. From the head of Lake Nyassa, the Stevenson Road has been engineered for about 60 miles right on to the high table land between that Lake and Tanganyika, through which a good track leads to the latter Lake. The London Missionary Society's steamer on Lake Tanganyika was transported thither by the Company along the water and land route just indicated.

Throughout these districts the Company buys large quantities of ivory, which would otherwise go to the coast by slave caravans; and thus, so far as its capital allows it, it directly decreases the slave-trade. It thus helps to heal what Livingstone termed "the open sore of the world." It also purchases india-rubber, wax, and oil seeds; and on Lake Nyassa, whence these last could not bear the cost of export, it manufactures them into oil for its steamers, &c., and hopes shortly to make soap and candles there, for which there is a very large demand.

The Company has also introduced, and is still introducing, new sources of wealth into the country, such as cinchona, indigo, cacao, tea, fibre plants and many drugs, which are to be grown in the various soils and localities most suited to each. It has already a most flourishing coffee-plantation.

In these various ways the African Lakes Company aims at the judicious development of the varied resources of the Nyassa districts, and believes that its efforts have already commenced to raise their commercial value; while, by affording regular employment to large numbers of natives, it supplies their legitimate wants, educates them to habits of peaceful and steady industry, and discourages the slave-trade.

The liquor-traffic—source of the ruin of many native tribes, is as yet chiefly confined to the Portuguese possessions. The Company has from the first refused to share in the profits of

Stevenson
Road.

White v. black
ivory.

No liquor-
traffic.

this iniquitous trade, and has as yet been able to prevent its introduction into the Lake districts.

From "Auld
Reekie" to
Blantyre.

We cannot refrain from mentioning an incident in the history of tropical enterprise, so very interesting is it. When Mr. Duncan, of the Blantyre Mission, was about to leave Scotland for East Africa, the Curator of the Edinburgh Botanical Gardens gave him two specimens of the coffee tree which had for many years kept up a stunted show of vitality. It was kindly thought for him and for them. In due time they reached the Shiré hills, there one succumbed, perhaps from overjoy! The other drove root into the rich red soil and spread out branches and "cuttings," to revel in the glorious air of the Shiré highlands. From the berries and cuttings of this tree plantations were formed, and it is computed that at the three settlements of Blantyre, Mandala and Zomba no less than 100,000 coffee trees can claim direct descent from this Edinburgh patriarch. Already coffee comes home to Mincing Lane, and is pronounced of high quality. For many of the above details, we refer to a very interesting article in the *Times* of January 7 in this year.

BUCHANAN BROTHERS.

Zomba planta-
tions.

We now come to the enterprise of the Buchanan Brothers. On the slopes of the beautiful Mount Zomba the Messrs. Buchanan have coffee, sugar and cinchona plantations, with the necessary machinery for the manipulation of their produce. Trained as Scotch gardeners, and most anxious to further the ends of their comrades at Blantyre—indeed we may rank "Buchanan Brothers" as an off-shoot of the mission—theirs is truly a most important undertaking, whether we look upon it in its religious or social aspect.

Their estates, three in number, are 1000, 2000, and 3000 acres in extent, approximately. The first is near to Blantyre, the second half-way to Mount Zomba, and the third on the slopes of the mountain itself. The titles of these lands, we may add, are granted by native chiefs; copies are lodged with Consul Hawes on the spot, and also with our own Foreign

Titles.

Office. Recently the new Consulate was built by the firm, ^{Consulate built.} which consists of three brothers: John, who was trained as a gardener and went out with the Blantyre Mission in 1876, and has been in business on his own account as a planter since 1884; David, trained as a builder; and Robert, who is both carpenter and boat-builder. At Zomba a weekly meeting for public worship is conducted in the Yao language, and there is a day school under two native teachers, whose salaries are paid by Dr. Rankin of Muthill and his parishioners: this is a branch ^{Muthill work.} of the Blantyre Mission.

Not only are the natives instructed in the truths of Christianity at Zomba, but large numbers of them are engaged to work for wages on the plantations. In this way freedom and slavery are pitted against each other. It will be an inestimable boon to the whole land if this already flourishing settlement prospers and enlarges its operations: it is the very thing which Livingstone yearned after incessantly, for he knew that it must act as a regenerative influence. To the looker-on it is *the* pioneer plantation of Central Africa, and as such its fortunes will be watched with the greatest interest.

With all this evidence before them of a determination to open up this part of Africa, we cannot wonder that Her Majesty's Government has been obliged to take official cognisance of what has been done there in the last twenty-eight years.

A British Consulate, in fact, has become a necessity of the ^{Consuls, 1883.} situation. Sad to relate, Captain Foot, R.N., who was appointed to fill this post in 1883, very soon succumbed to illness, and expired at Blantyre on August 17, 1884.

He has been succeeded by Consul Hawes, who has now for some time very actively carried out his duties (which entail extremely long and harassing journeys on the Lake and the rivers), and his presence is much appreciated by both Europeans and natives.

A spot has been finally selected on Mount Zomba for a Consulate, and no more healthy locality could possibly be hit upon. The buildings are completed, as we have stated already.

We have thus touched on all the prominent points of the work done in Nyassa-land. We have told the tale from the day when the Livingstone Zambesi expedition pushed its way up the Shiré, to the moment when we have steamers under our flag plying from the sea to the head of Lake Nyassa.

We point to a well-engineered road as a "portage" past the otherwise unsurmountable cataract-staircase of the Shiré, and we see that, thanks to the Lakes Company, a link is being forged to bind Nyassa and Tanganyika Lakes together for missionary and commercial purposes; already a steamer has been conveyed in pieces from one lake to the other.

Principal
clause in title-
deeds.

Dotted here and there, from the mangrove swamps at the Kongoné mouth of the Zambesi to the furthest extremity of Lake Nyassa's shore, we pass the graves of naval officers, of brave ladies, of a missionary bishop, of clergymen, Foreign Office representatives, doctors, scientific men, engineers, and mechanics. All these were our countrymen: they lie in glorious graves; their careers have been foundation-stones, and already the edifice rises.

Present work.

British mission stations are working at high pressure on the Shiré highlands, and under various auspices, not only upon the shores of Lake Nyassa, but on its islands also, and by desperate choice, as it were, in the towns of the devastating hordes who live on the plateaux on either side of the Lake. Numbers of native Christians owe their knowledge of the common Faith to these efforts; scores of future chiefs are being instructed in the schools spread over hundreds of miles; plantations are being mapped out; commerce is developing by sure and steady steps; a vigorous Company is showing to tribes and tribes that there are more valuable commodities in their land than their sons and daughters, for whom the Arabs and half-castes peddle and barter; and it is a satisfaction, by-the-by, to us to hear that a fair return upon English capital is a result of these particular operations in Central Africa. Putting aside the question of money outlay alone, which we see has been very great—say, in round numbers, £170,000 (omitting the consular expenditure and details of the Buchanan venture, which are not under our hand)—it cannot be denied that religion, civilization, and

Christianity.

Civilization.

Commerce.

£170,000
spent.

British commerce have now something to say with their "enemies in the gate."

It were affectation to deny that these signs of progress have Irritation. stirred up jealousy and made enemies.

From the first moment of Livingstone's appearance amongst them the Portuguese settlers on the Zambesi foresaw the advent of the inevitable. The slave-trade (hitherto looked on as a thing of the past), was dragged to light in all its loathsome details: Portugal has eventually been obliged to declare slavery illegal for her own credit's sake. One great cause of irritation is that, unlike the islands of San Thomé and Principé, the visits of Englishmen render slavery in the east coast provinces not such an easy thing to connive at; after all, we must recollect Exposure. these are but penal settlements.

But thanks mainly to the presence of the English, the sea-ports of the Moçambique province are opened up by steam communication, both the "British India" and the "Donald Currie" steamers calling in at regular and frequent intervals. Nevertheless, the Exchequer of Portugal has a perpetual and Ventilation. heavy deficit to show against the existence of her East African possessions.

What has she done meanwhile to explore, to settle up, or to draw produce from Nyassa-land?

It is almost incredible that till within two years ago it was not even possible for the Portuguese Government to send so Portuguese inactivity. much as a scientific expedition into these regions, which have for twenty-eight years been so frequently traversed by our missionaries, our merchants, and our vessels! Germany can Germany. relate that poor Roscher passed inland, but only to die by Lake Nyassa in 1859; she can tell of Von der Decken's short journey from Kilwa about the same date.

It is necessary, however, to refer to a Portuguese expedition which has at last broken the spell which inability is in some slight measure answerable for hitherto.

Major Pinto appears to have some of that old spirit of Portuguese Expedition, 1886. enterprise in his veins which lay at the bottom of the great deeds done by his illustrious ancestors; his travels elsewhere in Africa take high rank. With Lieutenant Cardoso as a

Lieut.
Cardoso.

colleague, he left Mozambique about two years ago with a large retinue of well-armed Kafirs, who were recruited to the south of the Zambesi. Fever quickly made the leadership devolve on the second in command, and with sadly diminished numbers Lieutenant Cardoso pushed on from Ibo towards Lake Nyassa. He, too, visited M'tarika and traversed the road ordinarily used since Livingstone's time by the Universities Mission, and he followed closely upon the heels of Mr. Last, who is exploring for the Royal Geographical Society. Reaching the Lake in a very dilapidated condition, he was able to replenish his stores from the stations of the African Lakes Company, and so to make another stage to the Blantyre mission settlement, where his troop of followers was rather an embarrassment. Finally he travelled down to Quillimane through the country which our Consul, Mr. O'Neill, had previously mapped out so admirably, and by a road used by the missionaries.

It is quite right that much should be made of this journey at Lisbon; it certainly cannot clash with any previous exploration of Portuguese origin, but it is most strange to see the turn things have taken.

The permanent secretary of the Lisbon Geographical Society thus delivers himself of what we fear is a typical specimen of a rather popular frame of mind in Portugal; he is alluding to the latter stage of Lieutenant Cardoso's march:—

Feeling in
Lisbon.

“Afterwards descending from Nyassa by Blantyre, the expedition went east, passing the Ruo (or rather Luo) near to Mount Melange. There some hostile manifestation on the part of the natives was indulged in, who imagined that they were dealing with English explorers; but the opposition was soon converted into demonstrations of respect and cordiality, and the caravan was allowed to pass when it was recognised to be Portuguese, and they saw the flag flying.

“These little incidents to which I have just made allusion again demonstrate the systematic injustice and inexactness of certain assertions made by English explorers and missionaries, to whom we have, moreover, generously permitted the exploration of and the establishing themselves in the regions of Nyassa and Shirwa, either at their own request or that of their

Government." (See Senhor Cordeiro's Correspondence. 'Journal of the Manchester Geographical Society,' vol. ii., Nos. 4, 5, 6, page 206.)

Were there not a very serious side to such an indication as this, we could well afford to keep silence; but a great deal meets the eye of any one who has been accustomed to fix it upon Portuguese presumption. We regret to say that of late years there has been much encouragement afforded to its growth.

Serious indications.

In a word, Portugal is not the only country which is under this singular and phenomenal spell. Such European Powers as have not a portion of Africa already, are intent on extraordinary claims to territory which, in the majority of cases, will interfere with few interests. It is naturally the time to burnish up old pretensions, and Portugal can hardly sit still before a pile of new maps traversed in all directions by "delimitation" lines and "zones."

Portugal aroused.

But in the present instance the Nyassa and Shiré district should be carefully placed on one side for considerations which require altogether different treatment. To trace a line with a paint-brush all over lands where a white man's foot has hardly fallen, if indeed it has fallen at all, is one thing; to suddenly proclaim that it is by courtesy that all these labours which we have detailed have been allowed, is a totally different matter.

However, our object in sketching out this historical narrative is not to furnish a prelude for a further examination of Portugal's pretensions: this task must be undertaken when fitting occasion shall offer.

British action required.

At the same time it must not be disguised that it is most desirable that the opportunity should be sought for, *without a moment's delay*, and of the proper authorities.

The long prevailing embarrassment and apprehension which has been hanging over the industries and missionary work of these regions should be forthwith removed, and the subject—once raised above its present level, will then attract to itself an importance which it has not hitherto acquired.

Perplexing uncertainty.

Another stage will succeed to the mere conference and map-making era.

Germany, France, Belgium, and, we hope, Portugal will actively and generously set about developing the vast spaces they have inscribed their names upon : then to whom, may we ask, will they turn to seek for previous experience of the navigation of lakes, the foundation of missions, and the production of coffee, sugar, india-rubber, &c., by free labour in Tropical Africa? A far more matured experience is available for them here than in any other inland portion of Central Africa. We cannot refrain from fortifying this statement by enumerating the several works which treat upon Nyassa-land. They are:—

Literature of
Nyassa-land.

- ‘Livingstone’s Missionary Travels in South Africa’ (John Murray, 1857).
- ‘The Zambesi and its Tributaries’ (John Murray, 1866).
- ‘Livingstone’s Last Journals’ (John Murray, 1874).
- ‘Memoir of Bishop Mackenzie’ (Deighton & Bell, 1864).
- ‘The Search after Livingstone’ (Letts & Co., 1868).
- ‘Nyassa’ (John Murray, 1877).
- ‘Lakes and Mountains of Africa’ (John Murray, 1879).
- ‘Personal Life of Livingstone’ (John Murray, 1880).
- ‘Twenty Years in Central Africa’ (Wells, Gardner & Co.).
- ‘Story of the Universities Mission to Africa’ (Saunders & Otley).
- ‘The Shiré Highlands’ (Blackwood, 1885).
- ‘To the Central African Lakes’ (Sampson Low).
- ‘Africana’ (Simpkin, Marshall & Co.).
- ‘Towards the Mountains of the Moon’ (Blackwood).

Portuguese
intentions.

To the above may be added a vast number of pamphlets and papers in the proceedings of the various scientific societies of England and Scotland, and in different missionary magazines, some of them monthly publications. Such a literature as this should alone assure any in whom doubts may arise that Nyassa-land is pre-eminently one in which England ought to be left undisturbed to work out that which has been so heroically and worthily begun. We commend this record to the consideration of those whom it concerns, and we do so without hesitation when we learn from very reliable sources that Portugal is probably about to ascend the Shiré and annex the Nyassa country. The moment has arrived when, in the face of this unique history, she must be called upon to show a better title to the land than our own.

In a few introductory words it was assumed that such work as the above ought to be set on its own candlestick—to take, in fact, its proper place in British estimation, with Government protection and the determined support of the people in these Isles assured to it.

Without this, the candle will be rudely snuffed out; then, when it is too late, there will be a storm of indignation.

England has spent millions on millions in abolishing her own slave-trade in this century; she still shows that she repents over those dark times, and to this day brings forth meet fruits in trying to suppress the traffic by a fleet of cruisers. In passing, we may add that Germany, France, and Portugal leave her to do this alone. But this slave-trade is fed on these fields; all authorities from Livingstone to Gordon show that Nyassa-land is the great preserve to the south, whilst to the north the evil clusters round the spot whither Stanley goes to-day. All are equally of opinion that to attempt to annihilate the traffic on the high seas is absurd; it can only be done by withering the roots inland.

England's
consistent
rôle.

But from another standpoint we can claim consideration.

Manchester already has a market capable of easy and rapid extension in Nyassa-land. There is too much talk about the opportunities which our Consuls miss, of German pushing and American 'cuteness. It will be better if we put our backs to the door-post, and insist that inasmuch as it has taken nearly thirty years to force open this door into savagedom, without demur or protest on the part of Portugal, it is not going to be closed now. By everything that is British it cannot be, and by all the interests present and to come, which are British—it must not be. Portugal has neither means, men, nor mercantile power to develop these regions, and we shall show her, by allowing us to act, we can bring an addition to her revenue, which already is the only single thing she can point to with satisfaction in East Africa.

Commerce
established.

HORACE WALLER.

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